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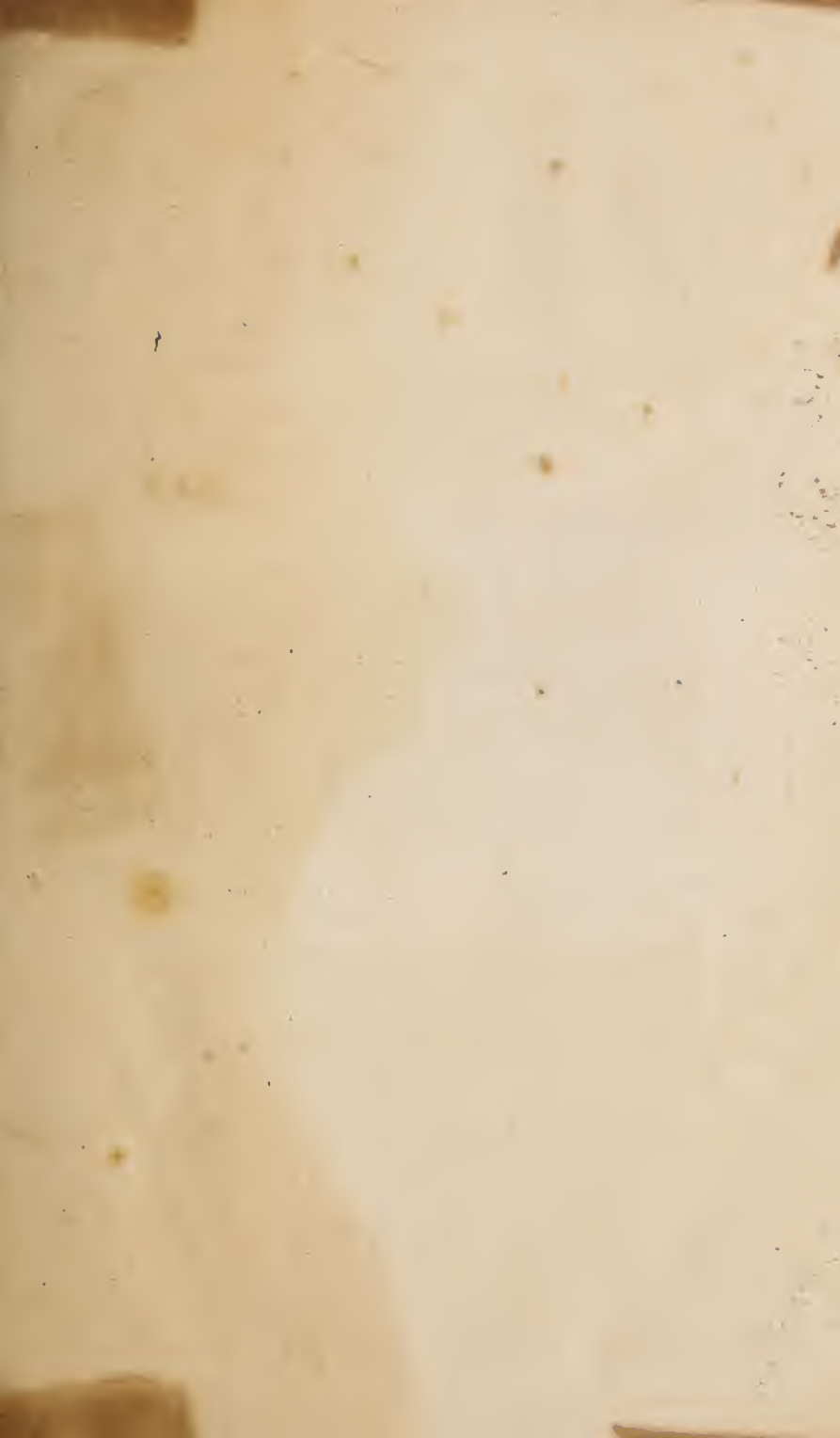
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VOL. XIX.]

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER, 1843.

[NO. 12.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION, SLAVE-TRADE, COMMERCE.

REPORT OF MR. KENNEDY OF MARYLAND,

From the Committee on Commerce of the House of Representatives of the United States, on the Memorial of the Friends of African Colonization, assembled in Convention, in the City of Washington, May, 1842 ; with an Appendix containing a great variety of most interesting papers on the subject of African Colonization, African Commerce, and the Slave-Trade.—Feb. 28, 1843.—[Printed by order of the House of Representatives.]

THE great cause of African Colonization is now fairly before the nation. It is brought distinctly and impressively to the attention and consideration of the General Government. The able Report of Mr. Kennedy, in connection with the memorial which called it forth, the map of Liberia and the parts adjacent, with the numerous and most interesting documents, in relation to the slave-trade, the population, agriculture, commerce and general condition of Africa, contained in the appendix, is, in our judgment, the most valuable publication on the subject that has been submitted to the country. We congratulate the friends of the Society everywhere on its appearance, and on the moral certainty, that if true to themselves, they will be heard in the legislative councils of the Union. A new era is now opening before an enterprize, which, though often retarded and necessarily slow in its earliest movements, extends its prospective beneficence over many millions of our race, and nearly half the Globe.

Well does the Editor of this Journal remember, when more than twenty years ago, in the ardour of youth, at Arlington House, on the banks of

the Potomac, he first caught, from the conversations of the present venerated senior bishop of Virginia, and a few not less to be admired, of his friends, the first sparks of zeal in this cause, and saw, or imagined he saw, through much of shade and vicissitude, of disaster and opposition, its final and lofty triumph. He knew that for a time it might seem possessed but of a precarious life, that it would be assailed from opposite directions, and on opposite grounds—that some would question its patriotism, more doubt its practicability, and not a few oppose its benevolence; but he felt assured that its elements were indestructible as the human reason or the divine law. He saw that it involved great questions of duty, of liberty, of the social and political welfare of the two most numerous races inhabiting this country, of means and measures for the suppression of the slave trade, and for the conversion of Africa herself from her rude and savage state, into the bright and pleasant home and kingdom of art, letters, law, and Christianity. The sentiments he then cherished, were subsequently expressed, in the following language in the introduction to the tenth Report of the Society.

“There was a moral grandeur in the design itself, which rendered the bare possibility of its accomplishment a motive sufficient to justify every possible exertion. It presented itself in relations infinitely important to those whom it would remove from our shores, was seen connected with the domestic happiness, social order, political strength, and all the higher interests of our country, and seemed to offer the only hope, of rescuing Africa from the invaders of her rights and the murderers of her children, and of imparting to her tribes, whose sable aspect is but the shadow of a darker mind, the pure and undying light of our religion.

“In the operations of the Society, it was obvious that the principal difficulties must be encountered at the outset. That a few enlightened citizens might be induced to furnish the means for exploring the coast of Africa there was reason to hope; and a favorable report from those delegated for this purpose, could not fail to secure aid for the emigration of such intelligent and energetic adventurers as have never been found wanting to enterprizes of the most arduous and dangerous character. Every practical movement of the Society would draw the public attention to its plans, and if successful, exhibit evidence of their utility, which no development of a theory however plausible could produce. Accounts from Africa would be perused by all; by the fanciful and inquisitive, for the novelty of their statements, by the thoughtful and pious to learn the character of its inhabitants, and the best methods of instructing them in the principles of our faith. Thus reflection would be excited, and the objects of the Society become better understood; a

knowledge of their nature would secure belief in their importance; the spirit of charity would advance with the progress of conviction; truth and time would soften down prejudice; and through the agency of the press, unremitting efforts and fervent prayer, the thoughts that dwelt at first in the breasts of a few, might finally enlist the sympathies and command the powers of the nation."

It is of infinite importance that the cause of African Colonization should continue to maintain the elevated position it now occupies before the country and the world. From his first connection with the American Colonization Society in 1822, the writer has adhered to the faith of the Fathers of the Institution, that while every appeal should be made for aid to the philanthropic and Christian sentiments of the country, the energies of the State and Federal Governments should be invoked to execute the scheme on a scale commensurate with its merits and magnitude. It was something gained to humanity, when the Society, duly appreciating the greatness and difficulty of the work, avowed in their Constitution, their purpose "to act," in effecting their object, "*in co-operation with the General Government and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.*"

It was something gained, when in their very first memorial to congress they said "*Your memorialists are delegated by a numerous and highly respectable association of their fellow citizens, recently organized at the seat of Government, to solicit Congress to aid with the power, the patronage, and the resources of the country, the great and beneficial object of their institution—an object deemed worthy of the earnest attention, and of the strenuous and persevering exertions, as well of every patriot, in whatever condition of life, as of every enlightened, philanthropic, and practical statesman.*"

It was more, when in consequence of this and other similar memorials, addressed for several successive years to Congress, explained and enforced by that distinguished and eloquent friend of the Society, and of mankind, the Hon. C. F. Mercer, a law was enacted stigmatizing the slave trade with the name and penalty of piracy, revoking forever the authority of any State to dispose of the freedom of recaptured Africans, instructing the President to restore that unfortunate people with means of subsistence, comfort and defence to their own country, and empowering the Executive to correspond with all civilized Governments for the purpose of securing the denunciation of the slave trade as piracy by universal law.

In the execution of the law for the benefit of recaptured Africans, Mr. Munroe, then President, selected the spot, purchased in Africa by the American Colonization Society as the place of their tempo-

rary or (as might be) permanent residence, and thus while peculiar advantages were secured to such Africans, some degree of countenance and protection was extended by the General Government to the first emigrants of the Society. These measures, important as they were, did not relieve the Society from dependence, mainly, upon private benevolence, and for more than twenty years, it has continued amidst numerous and perplexing embarrassments, occasional disasters, the agitations of warring opinions and interests, the errors and dissensions of professed friends, and the reproaches and assaults of enemies, to conduct forward its enterprise, confiding in the powers of truth and time to make its principles victorious in the mind and government of the country. The jealousies at all times, and recently the fierce animosities between the North and the South, on the question of slavery, have prevented generous support to the scheme, from either. No cause of equal merit, was probably ever by funds more feebly sustained, or with the same amount, productive of so great a good. In those influences and events which have retarded its progress, we know, there may have been the concealed wisdom of providence, inasmuch as it is possible the experiment has been more successful for not being hastened, and the argument from its success in circumstances of trial and discouragement the more convincing and irresistible. But we have been, at all times, in favor of earnest applications for support to the governments of the country, believing that discussion and deliberation must precede action; that in no way could the whole subject be brought so clearly and attractively before the public as through debates in Congress, and that the formation of just opinion upon it would not, probably, be so rapid as to result in measures of patronage, dangerous from excess to the wise, but necessarily gradual and cautious accomplishment of the design. But the decisions of the best exercised human reason are often overruled by the divine, and in providence, as in nature, eclipses often serve to show progress in the order of immutable and beneficent laws. These laws may be imperfectly discovered and developed, but pure motives are ever in accordance with them; and with the reason they govern the actions they suggest, and the very persons of those whom they animate, are ever in the hand of God.

During the seasons of prosperity and adversity through which the Society has been called to pass, there have never been wanting individuals, eminent for talents and influence, who have exhibited its plan, in its far-reaching and widely-embracing character of patriotism and philanthropy, and urged its strong claims for liberal aid upon the several State Legislatures and the Government of the Union. The opinions of MADISON, MONROE, MARSHALL, of KING, and HARPER, of CRAWFORD, of FITZHUGH, and KEY, departed, and of many others equally admired and

honored among the living, are before the world. Voices of eloquent power have from time to time been raised in nearly every part of the country in advocacy of the enterprise, as well commenced by private contributions, but meriting and demanding for its consummation, the interposition and energies of Government. Well aware is the writer of some differences of opinion among the friends of the cause, and even among the Directors of the institution on this subject, that a few have been disposed to limit their views to the action of the individual States; that some would seek for more, and others less, from Government, and that some have questioned the wisdom of soliciting assistance either from the Legislatures of the States or of the Union, until decided expression of the popular will should foretoken, with a high degree of certainty, success. A few, perhaps, have imagined that private donations would diminish, should the idea once become prevalent, that the great work was to receive public aid, and that the charm and sacredness of its character, as commending itself to the sympathies and prayers of pious and benevolent men, would suffer injury, the moment earnest and repeated appeals were made in its behalf to the State or National Governments. On the contrary, the element of weakness in the cause, as it has appeared to the writer, has been the too common distrust in its practicability on an enlarged scale,—a sense of its want of means and power to effect the ends proposed. The Society has encountered the two-fold difficulty, of securing funds for a successful experiment from those who deemed such experiment valuable, mainly, as preliminary to some greater movement, and of gaining confidence in such movement, until the benefits of such experiment had been completely demonstrated. By slow, and arduous, and protracted labors, a free and Christian commonwealth on the African coast has been founded; it stands honored and respected, shielded by just laws, informed by a religious and philanthropic spirit, elevated by hope, and capable of indefinite growth and improvement. The eyes of the country, and of its Government, may be directed to it as a monument of sagacity, wisdom and beneficence—as exhibiting evidence undoubted, of the soundness of the views of those who framed the Society, and that with the co-operation of government, their loftest expectations will be realized.

Among those good and great men who devised the plan of African Colonization, no one appears to have more deeply considered its policy, or fully comprehended its remote, as well as more immediate results, or the means by which they must be effected, than General Harper. He was one of those learned and sagacious men, whose eloquence, distinguished as it was, will be less remembered than his practical and profound political views and philanthropy. It was among his last remarks in public, “that the cause of

African Colonization seemed almost the only one worth living for." We delight to remember how this eminent man, adorned with all the graces of letters and manners, eminently endued with talents and acquirements for the bar, or for the halls of political debate, engaged during his last days, with a fervent spirit, and unbounded confidence, in this scheme of patriotism and benevolence. And we recur to his published opinions as of high authority, and destined, we feel assured, each succeeding year, to throw increasing light upon his fame. In 1817, he thus wrote :

"I may perhaps on some future occasion develop a plan, on which I have long meditated, for colonizing gradually, and with the consent of their owners, and of themselves where free, the whole colored population, slaves and all; but this is not the proper place for such an explanation, for which indeed I have not time now. But it is an essential part of the plan, and of every such plan, to prepare the way for its adoption, and execution by commencing a colony of blacks, in a suitable situation and under proper management. This is what your Society proposes to accomplish. Their project, therefore, if rightly formed and well conducted, will open the way for this more extensive and beneficial plan of removing, gradually and imperceptibly, but certainly, the whole colored population from the country, and leaving its place to be imperceptibly supplied, as it would necessarily be, by a class of free white cultivators. In every part of the country this operation must necessarily be slow. In the Southern and Southwestern States it will be very long before it can be accomplished, and a very considerable time must probably elapse before it can even commence. It will begin first, and be first completed, in the Middle States, where the evils of slavery are most sensibly felt, the desire of getting rid of the slaves is already strong, and a greater facility exists of supplying their place by white cultivators. From thence it will gradually extend to the South and Southwest, till, by its steady, constant, and imperceptible operation, the evils of slavery shall be rooted out from every part of the United States, and the slaves themselves, and their posterity, shall be converted into a free, civilized, and great nation, in the countries from which their progenitors were dragged, to be wretched themselves and a curse to the whites.

"This great end is to be obtained in no other way than by a plan of universal colonization, founded on the consent of the slaveholders and of the colonists themselves. For such a plan, that of the present Colonization Society opens and prepares the way, by exploring the ground, selecting a proper situation, and planting a colony, which may serve as a receptacle, a nursery, and a school, for those that are to follow. It is in this point of view that I consider its benefits as the most extensive and important, though not the most immediate.

"The advantages of this undertaking, to which I have hitherto adverted are confined to ourselves. * * * But there are advantages to the free blacks themselves, to the slaves, and to the immense population of Middle and Southern Africa, which no less recommend this undertaking to our cordial and zealous support.

"To the free blacks themselves the benefits are the most obvious, and will be the most immediate. * * * Transplanted to a colony composed of themselves alone, they would enjoy real equality: in other words, real freedom. They would become proprietors of land, master mechanics, ship-owners, navigators, and merchants, and by degrees schoolmasters, justices of the peace, militia officers, ministers of religion, judges, and legislators. There would be no white population to remind them of and to perpetuate their original inferiority; but enjoying all the privileges of freedom, they would soon enjoy all

its advantages and all its dignity. The whites who might visit them, would visit them as equals, for the purposes of a commerce mutually advantageous. They would soon feel the noble emulation to excel, which is the fruitful source of excellence in all the various departments of life; and under the influence of this generous and powerful sentiment, united with the desire and hope of improving their condition, the most universal and active incitements to exertion among men, they would rise rapidly in the scale of existence, and soon become equal to the people of Europe, or of European origin, so long their masters and oppressors. Of all this the most intelligent among them would soon become sensible. The others would learn it from them; and the prospect and hopes of such blessings would have an immediate and most beneficial effect on their condition and character; for it will be easy to adopt such regulations as to exclude from this colony, all but those who shall deserve by their conduct to be admitted: thus rendering the hope of admission a powerful incentive to industry, honesty, and religion.

“To the slaves, the advantages, though not so obvious or immediate, are yet certain and great.

“In the first place, they would be greatly benefited by the removal of the free blacks,* who now corrupt them, and render them discontented: thus exposing them to harsher treatment and greater privations. In the next place, this measure would open the way to their more frequent and easier manumission; for many persons, who are now restrained from manumitting their slaves by the conviction that they generally become a nuisance when manumitted in the country, would gladly give them freedom, if they were to be sent to a place where they might enjoy it usefully to themselves and to society. And, lastly, as this species of manumission, attended by removal to a country where they might obtain all the advantages of freedom, would be a great blessing, and would be so considered by the slaves, the hope of deserving and obtaining it would be a great solace to their sufferings, and a powerful incitement to good conduct. It would thus tend to make them happier and better before it came, and to fit them better for usefulness and happiness afterwards.

“Such a colony, too, would enlarge the range of civilization and commerce, and thus tend to the benefit of all civilized and commercial nations. In this benefit our own nation would most largely participate; because having founded the colony, and giving it constant supplies of new members, as well as its first and principal supply of necessities and comforts, its first connexion would be formed with us, and would naturally grow with its growth and our own, till they ripened into fixed habits of intercourse, friendship, and attachment.

“The greatest benefit, however, to be hoped from this enterprise, that which, in contemplation, most delights the philanthropic mind, still remains to be unfolded. It is the benefit to Africa herself from this return of her sons to her bosom, bearing with them arts, knowledge, and civilization, to which she has hitherto been a stranger. Cast your eyes, my dear sir, on this vast continent; pass over the northern and northeastern parts, and the great desert, where sterility, ferocious ignorance, and fanaticism, seem to hold exclusive and perpetual sway; fix your attention on Soudan, and the widely extended regions to the south; you see there innumerable tribes and nations of blacks, mild and humane in their dispositions, sufficiently intelligent, robust, active, and vigorous, not averse from labor or wholly ignorant of agriculture, and possessing some knowledge of the ruder arts, which minister to the first wants of civilized man; you see a soil generally fertile, a climate healthy for the natives, and a mighty river, which rolls its waters through vast regions inhabited by these tribes, and seems destined, by an all-wise and beneficent Providence, one day to connect them with each other, and all of

* This is probably true but in part, as many free colored persons are to be commended for their good example.—ED.

them with the rest of the world, in the relations of commerce and friendly intercourse. What a field is here presented for the blessings of civilization and Christianity, which colonies of civilized blacks afford the best and probably the only means of introducing. These colonies, composed of blacks already instructed in the arts of civilized life and the truths of the gospel, judiciously placed, well conducted, and constantly enlarged, will extend gradually into the interior, will form commercial and political connexions with the native tribes in their vicinity, will extend those connexions to tribes more and more remote, will incorporate many of the natives with the colonies, and in their turn make establishments and settlements among the natives, and thus diffuse all around the arts of civilization, and the benefits of literary, moral, and religious instruction.

“That such must be the tendency of colonies of this description, if well placed, well formed, and well conducted, cannot, I think, be reasonably doubted. Such a colony has already been established, with satisfactory success and flattering prospects. But it may be doubted, perhaps, whether the situation has been fortunately chosen with respect to all the objects that ought to be kept in view; and it is still more questionable whether a sufficient supply of colonists of a proper description, to give it the extent necessary for rendering it in any considerable degree beneficial, can be drawn from the sources on which it must rely. It is in the United States alone that such colonists can be found in any considerable numbers. In the choice of a good situation, too, on which so much depends, we have far more assistance from recent discoveries, and the extension of geographical knowledge in that quarter of the globe, than was possessed by the founders of that colony. We have the benefit of their experience, of their discoveries, and even of their errors, which we may be able to correct or avoid. Useful therefore and meritorious as their establishment certainly is we may hope to render ours far more extensively beneficial.

“An objection of some plausibility is frequently urged against this scheme of colonizing the free people of color, which it may be proper in this place to notice. These people, it is said, especially the industrious and estimable part of them, will not go to the new colony. That many of them will decline to go at first, and some always, cannot be doubted. It is even probable, and may be safely admitted, that but few of them now think favorably of the project; for men, especially ignorant men, venture unwillingly upon great changes, the extent, nature, and consequences of which they are little capable of understanding. But it by no means follows that the same unwillingness or hesitation will continue, after the ground shall have been broken, the way opened, and the settlement formed. In the first instance, none will engage but the most industrious; intelligent, and enterprising, who are capable of discerning the advantages of the undertaking, and have resolution and energy enough to encounter its first hardships and risks. This is the case with all colonies, and especially those formed in distant, unknown, or unsettled countries. Some resolute and adventurous spirits first embark, and they open and prepare the way for others. It is stated and believed, on evidence better known to you than to me, that a sufficient number of such persons stand ready at this time to commence the colony, as soon as the necessary previous arrangements can be made. I have no doubt of the fact, not only from information, but from general reasoning on the human character, and my knowledge of many individuals among the free blacks. When this first step is taken, (and in most enterprises the greatest difficulty lies in the first step,) when a settlement of free blacks shall have actually been formed, the way opened, and the first difficulties, surmounted, others will soon be disposed to follow. If successful and prosperous, as it certainly will be if properly conducted, its success will quickly become known to the free blacks in every part of the country.

“However distrustful of the whites, they will confide in the reports made to them by

people of their own color and class. The prosperity of the settlement, and the advantageous condition of the settlers, will soon be universally understood and believed; and, indeed, will be far more apt to be exaggerated than undervalued. The most ignorant and stupid of the free people of color will speedily understand or believe that, in the colony, they may obtain a state of equality, opulence, and distinction, to which they can never aspire in this country: hence the desire to join their friends and equals there may be expected soon to become general among them; nor is it too much to hope and anticipate that this desire will speedily grow into a passion; that the difficulty will be not to find colonists, but to select them; and that the hope of being received into the favored number, for whom it may be practicable to provide annually, will ere long become a most powerful and operative incentive to industry, sobriety, and general good conduct, among the whole class from which the selection will be annually made.

“Having detained you thus long, my dear sir, much too long, I am afraid, with these preliminary observations on the benefits which may be expected from this undertaking, I proceed now to the manner of carrying it into execution. I shall not, however, treat this branch of the subject in its whole extent, for which this is not the proper place, but shall confine myself to the objects more immediately in view at this time—the choice of a proper situation for the first settlement, and the circumstances to which the attention of the agent, who is to be sent out for the purpose of exploring the ground, ought chiefly to be directed.

“The first of these circumstances is salubrity, with a view to which the vicinity of low and marshy grounds, of swamps, and of rivers which are apt to overflow their banks, ought to be carefully avoided. High situations, open to the sea, or washed by rivers with high and steep banks, should be sought. Mountains in the vicinity, and in the direction from which the winds regularly blow, are much to be desired; and great attention should be paid to the abundance of brooks and springs, and to the quality of their water. On all these accounts, an elevated and uneven surface ought to be preferred, though less fertile than the flat low grounds. Too much attention ought not to be paid, in the first settlements, either to great fertility or the convenience of navigation. The first establishment should no doubt be within a convenient distance from a good port, but need not be close to it; nor ought to be so, unless the immediate vicinity should be much more healthy than such situations usually are. The settlement must be entirely agricultural at first, and will long, perhaps always, continue so, in a very great degree. Commerce there, as in our own country, must and will soon grow out of agriculture; but the first settlements ought to be made with a view to the latter, far more than to the former. Contiguity to a good market for agricultural productions is, indeed, a very important incitement and aid to agricultural industry, and therefore a very important circumstance in the location of an agricultural colony; but it is far from being the most important, and care must be taken to prevent its being too much regarded.

“Nor ought any thing in this respect to be sacrificed to great fertility, which is most frequently found in low, flat, and unwholesome situations. A good soil, well adapted to the cultivation of wheat, Indian corn or maize, and cotton, is all in this respect that ought to be desired; and such soils are found in places possessing every advantage of good water, with a dry and pure atmosphere. Wheat and Indian corn are the best articles of food, and the soils that produce them are fit also for various other grains and vegetables, useful for food and of easy culture, especially the sweet potato and various kinds of pulse, which thrive well in hot climates. As an object of tillage, with a view to exportation, cotton is far the best, because it thrives well in high and healthy situations, of a light soil, may be cultivated to advantage on small farms, and requires little labor which cannot be performed by women and children.

“Attention should also be paid to suitable streams for the erection of grist-mills, saw-mills, and other water works, which will be almost indispensable to the colony in its infant state, and of great utility at a more advanced period. Fortunately, such streams abound most in the countries best adapted in other respects to agricultural settlements.

“The character, condition, and disposition of the natives, will also require very particular attention; it being of the greatest importance to gain and preserve their good will, so as to cultivate and cement a free and friendly intercourse with them, obtain from them assistance and supplies, and gradually communicate to them the knowledge and habits of civilized life. For this essential purpose, we should not only avoid the neighborhood of fierce and warlike tribes, but that of very large and powerful ones, who will be much more unmanageable and dangerous than small ones in many points of view.

“It would also be best to select a situation as distant as possible from Sierra Leone. There would no doubt be some advantages at first in a close neighborhood, but they would probably be soon overbalanced by the jealousies and collisions which could hardly fail to take place between two colonies established under different Governments, and with different views and interests in many important points. This is an objection to Shebro river, probably not insurmountable, but sufficient to turn the scale in favor of a more distant position, possessing in other respects equal or nearly equal advantages.

“If, indeed, an arrangement could be made with the British Government for an union and incorporation of the two colonies, or rather for the reception of our colonists into their settlement, it might deserve serious consideration. There would no doubt be many advantages at first in sending them to a settlement already formed, where the first difficulties have been surmounted, and a regular government exists. But this is matter for future deliberation. We ought now to search out a fit place for ourselves; for it is doubtful whether an incorporation would be agreed to by the British Government, and far from being certain that the best place has been chosen for their establishment. When these points shall have been ascertained, and we know what prospect there is of obtaining a suitable situation elsewhere, a negotiation may be opened, if then thought advisable, for uniting the two colonies.

“There will always be one strong objection to the incorporation. The British colony will be for a long time retained in the colonial state, subject to a foreign and distant Government, and when ripe for independence will probably be compelled to seek it by force of arms. *The nature and habitual policy of that Government will almost necessarily lead to this result. Our colony, on the contrary, ought to be republican from the beginning, and formed and fashioned with a view to self-government and independence, with the consent of the mother country, at the earliest practicable period.* It is thus only that it can be most useful to the colonists, to Africa, to us, and to the general cause of humanity.

“It would, however, be premature at present to decide on the question of incorporation; and therefore, with a view to this interesting part of the case, the agent should be instructed to investigate most carefully the progress and present state of the Sierra Leone settlement, and to ascertain, as exactly as possible, all the circumstances of its locality, as relates to health; fertility: objects of culture suitable to its soil and climate; navigation; the nature of the country in its vicinity; the character, situation, and strength of the neighboring tribes; and the facilities of communication with the remote and interior parts of the continent.

“One very important circumstance in the selection of a suitable place for our settlements, to which the attention of the agent ought to be particularly directed, still remains to be brought into view. I mean the facility of communication with the Niger,

that mighty river which seems destined to supply the link of connexion between the interior of Africa and the civilized world.

“I take the question relative to the lower course and termination of the Niger to be now satisfactorily settled. The discoveries of Park, in his last journey, compared and connected with the information derived from Mr. Maxwell and others, concerning the river Zayr, improperly called the Congo, from the name of a little district at its mouth, to say nothing of Sidi Hamet’s narrative, as given to us by Captain Riley, which deserves great attention, authorize us, I think, to conclude that these two rivers are the same; in other words, that the Niger, after having traversed the interior of Africa four thousand miles, falls, under the name of Zayr, into the Atlantic, south of the equator: thus laying open that vast continent to its inmost recesses, and bringing its immense population into contact with the rest of the world. There is some doubt and much contrariety of opinion on this point, and this is not the place for entering at large into the discussion. Fortunately, a decision of the question, which cannot be absolutely decided till the course of the Niger shall be pursued to its termination, is not necessary for our present purpose; for, whether this great body of water, collected in a course of two thousand miles, be lost, according to the opinion of some, in the sands, marshes, and lakes, supposed to exist in the centre of Africa; or, as others have imagined, be discharged into the Mediterranean through the Nile, a river of a more elevated bed, and hardly a tenth part as large; or, being arrested in its progress eastward towards the Indian ocean, by the elevated country in which the Nile has its sources, is driven through the feebler barrier of the mountains on the south, and thrown off to the Southern Atlantic; it is still the only avenue into the interior of Africa—and a noble avenue it is. At Bammakoo, where Park struck it in his last voyage, he states it to be a mile wide. From thence to Houssa, a distance of between six and seven hundred miles, its course has been satisfactorily ascertained. Throughout this great extent, in which it receives many large streams, and flows through a fertile country, its current, though strong, is smooth and even, uninterrupted by cataracts or shoals. As it advances eastward, it recedes more and more from the coast, and thus becomes more and more difficult of access. Settlements therefore on the Atlantic, formed with a view to commercial intercourse with the vast countries on the Niger, and those more distant to which it leads, must be placed as near as possible to its upper waters, where they first begin to be navigable for boats.*

“These waters probably approach much nearer the Atlantic than has hitherto been believed. We have seen that, at Bammakoo, the highest point to which it has yet been traced, it is a mile wide—as large as the Susquehannah at its entrance into the Chesapeake bay. It must therefore be a very considerable stream much higher up; that is, much further to the southwest, and consequently much nearer to the Atlantic. It has its source in the western part of a chain of mountains, which runs from west to east, nearly parallel with that part of the coast of Africa which extends from Sierra Leone to the Bight of Benin. These mountains separate it from the rivers which, rising on their southern side, fall into the Atlantic, in the neighborhood of Sierra Leone. Their sources no doubt approach very near to those of the Niger; probably no great distance divides its navigable waters from theirs. Such a river, with a good port at or near its mouth, and a fertile country on its banks, would present the proper situation for a colony, planted with a view to the civilization of Africa, by the commerce of the Niger.

“The course of such a commerce would be to ascend the Atlantic river, as far as pos-

* Although the Author was (as is now known) mistaken in his idea that the Niger and Zayr were the same, his views on some important points are confirmed.—Ed.

sible, in boats, with the commodities wanted for the interior consumption, and to establish at that point a place of deposit, from whence the merchandise would be sent over land to the Niger, and down it to the various markets below. The returns would go up the Niger to its highest navigable point, where a town would soon arise; from thence, they would pass by land to the place of deposit on the other side of the mountain, and there be put into boats, for transportation down the river to the shipping port. If the Niger should be ascertained to continue its course to the ocean, an intercourse would gradually be extended down to its mouth, where a great commercial city would arise; and to this mart the return cargoes purchased above would gradually find their way down the stream. Thus an immense circle of commerce would imperceptibly be formed, embracing the whole course of the Niger, and the vast countries which it waters and lays open, and connecting them all with each other, and with the whole commercial world. For a very considerable time this commerce would be confined to the countries far up the river, near to its source, where the settlements would first be formed, and civilization would commence. As the communication between these first settlements and those on the Atlantic became more and more safe, easy, and expeditious, by means of intermediate settlements, good roads, and improved inland navigation, colonies and trade would extend further and further down the river. Other settlements would soon be commenced at its mouth. At last, these two branches would meet and unite in a commerce vast as the stream on which it would be borne, and as the continent which it would civilize, enlighten, and adorn.

“ Ages, indeed, may be required for the full attainment of these objects; untoward events or unforeseen difficulties may retard or defeat them; but the prospect, however remote or uncertain, is still animating, and the hope of success seems sufficient to stimulate us to the utmost exertion. How vast and sublime a career does this undertaking open to a generous ambition, aspiring to deathless fame by great and useful actions! Who can count the millions that in future times shall know and bless the names of those by whom this magnificent scheme of beneficence and philanthropy has been conceived, and shall be carried into execution! Throughout the widely extended regions of Middle and Southern Africa, then filled with populous and polished nations, their memories shall be cherished and their praises sung, when other States, and even the flourishing and vigorous nation to which they belong, now in its flower of youth, shall have run their round of rise, grandeur, and decay; and, like the founders of Palmyra, Tyre, Babylon, Memphis, and Thebes, shall no longer be known, except by vague reports of their former greatness, or by some fragments of those works of art, the monuments of their taste, their power, or their pride, which they may leave behind.”

At the annual meeting of the Society, in February, 1824 (the last he was ever permitted to attend) General Harper after moving that the Territory purchased in Africa, should bear the name of LIBERIA, and its principal town be called MONROVIA in acknowledgment of the important benefits conferred on that settlement by the then illustrious chief magistrate of the United States, submitted the following resolution:

“ *Resolved*,—That a respectful memorial be presented to Congress on the part of the Society, stating the progress that has been made in establishing a colony of free people of color at Liberia, on the south-west coast of Africa, the difficulties that have been surmounted in the progress of this establishment, its present situation, its prospects of ultimate success, and the benefits which it may be expected to produce; and praying for

aid from the national government, in the further prosecution of this great national undertaking."

In the brief speech by which this resolution was sustained, General Harper said,

"I hold it perfectly clear, from what has come to my knowledge of the progress of this, and all similar establishments, that no means within the possession of this or of any other private association are adequate to the attainment of those objects which such an association ought to hold in view. What are these objects? They are, in the first place, to aid ourselves, by relieving us from a species of population pregnant with future danger and present inconvenience; to advance the interests of the United States by removing a great public evil; to promote the benefit of the individuals removed, as well as those of the same race that yet remain; and finally, to benefit Africa by spreading the blessings of knowledge and freedom on a continent that now contains 150 millions of people, plunged in all the degradation of idolatry, superstition, and ignorance. All these objects are embraced in the vast enterprise in which we have engaged. To attain these ends, to confer on the sons of Africa and on Africa herself, blessings so great, so invaluable as these, requires means beyond the reach of any private individuals to command; all we have yet done, all we can expect to do, is merely to pave the way, to point out the track; and in accomplishing this, we have derived the most essential aid from the chief executive officer of the Union. These efforts of the Society have shown that it is practicable to transplant Africans from our shores to those of their native continent, and that when thus transferred, they are capable of enjoying freedom, civilization and Christianity. A few hundreds, at the utmost a thousand colonists, might be within the reach of our efforts; by such an experiment we shall demonstrate this, and essentially benefit the individuals; but farther we cannot, by our own exertions, hope to go.

"In the mean while, there exists among us a great social evil; a cancer on the body politic, that is gradually eating its way to the vitals of the State: It is at work while we sleep and when we wake—and it will continue, if not speedily arrested, to pervade and corrode, till at length it has destroyed the entire mass of our social strength and happiness. It can't be touched by us; it needs a far mightier hand. The removal of a few thousand individuals will, in an evil of such magnitude, produce but little effect—it will not even materially benefit this class of population themselves; for it consists of more than a million and a half of persons—and though 3 or 400,000 already free should be removed, the great political mischief among us would be but slightly affected. And though the benefits derived to Africa from such an increase of the Colony would not be unimportant, yet would they be small in comparison with those which the country may expect, from the complete eradication of this evil.

"How then is that more extensive operation which alone can complete the scope of our design to be ultimately, or ever, accomplished? How is this vast mass of a vicious population to be safely withdrawn from among us, and with justice to those more immediately interested in their present condition? Their removal must have three qualifying circumstances. First it must be *gradual*, for if attempted suddenly, a void would be occasioned by the precipitate subduction of so great an amount of effective labor, that would threaten the most serious inconvenience, if not great calamity. In the second place, it must be done *with their own consent*; for to think of doing it without, seems equally against reason, justice, and the dictates of religion. And in the third place, it must be done with the consent of those who have an interest in their labor—

* This assertion has been proved incorrect.—Ed.

to no other idea would I ever yield my approbation or consent. Now, to accomplish the object we desire on the three conditions I have stated, most evidently requires national means. These means ought to be applied; the object is national, in its character, and in its consequences.

“If a hostile army threatened to invade any portion of these United States, would it not afford a legitimate employment for the army and the fleet? Whether it were New Orleans or Eastport that were threatened, would make no difference in the question—the object would still be national, and the national force would be called forth to meet it. I ask then whether the existence itself, of one or more of the States, is not a national object? And whether an evil threatening that existence is not a national evil? I need not prove it—to those who reflect at all, it cannot but be self-evident. To the national government then let us address ourselves. The object on which we address them is national in its magnitude, as well as in its consequences, both for good and evil—(chiefly for evil.) To have applied before, would have been premature—to such an application it might, and probably would have been replied, “Shew us that your object is feasible; convince us that the thing can be done;” and such an answer would, I think, have been a wise and solid one. But now it cannot be made. The thing not only can be done, but has been done. A colony is actually established, in a healthy situation; peace has been secured; the means of supply and of sustenance are provided; all is done that needs to be done to complete the experiment, and to prove the practicability of the plan proposed. Now we can go to the Government with solid argument to support us, and appeal to their good sense as well as to their patriotism.”

These sentiments were not those alone of General HARPER. Ex-President MADISON and Chief Justice MARSHALL, both looked to the rich treasure of the national domain, as the fund by which this great work of African Colonization was to be advanced and completed. The latter, referred to the resolution of the Hon. Rufus King submitted to the Senate of the United States in 1825, by which it was proposed, “that the whole of the public land of the United States, with the nett proceeds of all future sales thereof, should constitute and form a fund to be inviolably applied to aid the emancipation of such slaves, within any of the United States, and to aid the removal of such slaves, and the removal of such free persons of color, in any of the said States, as by the laws of the States respectively may be allowed to be emancipated or removed, to any territory or country without the limits of the United States of America,” as the most unexceptionable, and the most effective that could be devised. “The fund” he observes “would operate as rapidly as would be desirable, when we take into view the other resources which might come in aid of it, and its application would be perhaps less exposed to those constitutional objections which are made in the south, than the application of money drawn from the treasury, and raised by taxes. The lands are the property of the United States, and have heretofore been disposed of by the Government under the idea of absolute ownership.”

Though the original land bill, offered to Congress, by that early eminent, and eloquent friend, and now President of the Colonization Society, Mr.

Clay, provided that the proceeds of the sales of the public lands should, when distributed, be applied only to three objects, Education, Internal Improvement, and African Colonization, we must confess our preference was, that they should remain undistributed, because of the hope we cherished that the entire fund might at some time, by the general government, be applied, in the spirit of the Constitution, and for the general welfare, to aid alike the interests of the Union, the exaltation of our national character, the cause of human liberty, and the extension, over another continent, now dark with crime, and ignorance, and barbarism, of the blessings of order, law, intelligence, and Christianity. We are not discouraged at the tardy growth of opinion in favor of our views; we are convinced of their truth and justice; we remember that nature in the slowness of her great and most beneficent changes is representative of the mind of nations, that Christianity has maintained its course for eighteen centuries, and yet but begun her conquests, that causes are often not less certain because gradual, and that the decrees of an All-Governing Providence "run along the line of ages," and are *His*, "with whom a thousand years are as one day."

Nor in urging the friends of the Society, in every section of the Union, to adopt and transmit memorials in its behalf, to their respective State legislatures, and to Congress, would we be regarded as inclined, in the least, to relax from the most strenuous exertions to increase, by individual donations, its resources. Would that they were augmented a hundred-fold. Whatever government may do, there is, and will be for a century, ample space for all the energies and all the means (however large) of this Society. If government should make appropriations to enable the Society, or the Colony, to enlarge its territory, to assist emigration, to promote commercial enterprise and advantage, to form treaties and alliances extensively with African tribes and nations for the extinction of the slave trade and the advance of civilization, there are objects enough in connexion with the diffusion of knowledge, the cultivation of the arts, the reformation of manners and morals, and above all, in the propagation of divine truth in Africa, to occupy the thoughts and endeavors, and exhaust all the means of the most powerful society.

We know that some whose judgment is entitled to respect, would limit applications for aid to the State legislatures. They think the scheme will be most certainly and effectually accomplished by State action alone: on the contrary, we have thought that some things in the case, and of high importance, could only be done by the general government, and that others required, may be done most effectually by that government. We should rejoice to see each State kindling with zeal, and adopting measures to promote the cause; but we would not wait for them, but address our-

selves at once to the representatives of the nation, speaking through them to their constituents, assured that any wise measures which Congress may adopt in support of the design will create confidence in its success in the minds of individuals and of States. Confidence will multiply friends, open resources, strengthen the weak, rouse languor into activity, drive opposition into darkness, and excite the States to co-operation in the work.

In a report made by General Harper, as chairman of a committee, in 1824, on the subject of presenting a memorial to Congress, he observed: "This the committee regard as an undertaking strictly and essentially national, in which, consequently, the national resources ought to be employed. The evil to be removed particularly affects, indeed, particular parts of the nation; but affects the rest by necessary consequence, and is, therefore, a national evil." Again: "these reasons have led the committee to conclude that application ought to be made to the National Government." Again: "The committee would also remark, that, although it may be doubted, on a subject so vast in its consequences and connections, and so new, whether Congress will act immediately, this does not, in their opinion, furnish any sufficient reason for delaying the application; time must be allowed for viewing the subject in all its bearings, for reflection on it maturely, and for public opinion to receive and communicate the proper impulse. Nothing, the committee apprehend, will tend so effectually to produce and mature these desirable results as full discussions and explanations of the whole subject in Congress, for which, the present moment seems particularly favorable."

The application was made, and once or twice subsequently repeated, some attention directed to the subject, and motions made and carried, by which, indirectly, through measures for the benefit of recaptured Africans, and the suppression of the slave-trade, some friendly offices were extended, by the Government, to Liberia. But the Society and its friends began to doubt the propriety of further appeals, to retire from their position, to suffer a depression of their hopes, to imagine delay to be far better than a repulse, to circumscribe their expectations, and almost to conclude that they had over-estimated the grandeur of their scheme; that their best endeavors could but win a small share of benevolent regard, and terminate in some few and feeble missionary settlements of uncertain success and duration. As incidental to the very nature of the undertaking, in its earliest stages, while dependent upon the voluntary aid of individuals, pecuniary embarrassments occurred, which, in their causes, but few understood, and which some unfortunately mis-represented and exaggerated. The agitations on the subject of slavery, alienated one great section of the Union from the other, the prudent became more cautious, and many

benevolent men who desired peace, chose to retire from the heat of controversy and to wait for more auspicious times.—Changes occurred in the organization and management of the Society.—To raise the most money in the least time, though an important problem, was, perhaps, too exclusively regarded, and without due experience of the best methods, and the means of gathering influence and affection around the cause, by exhibiting it in all its great proportions and mighty consequences, but partially considered. But these errors, if such they were, were short-lived, and on the 16th of April, 1842, at a public meeting in the city of Washington, a series of resolutions was unanimously adopted, expressive of a conviction of the incalculable blessings sought to be secured by the Society to the African race; of the expediency of inviting assistance both from the State legislatures and from Congress; and finally, recommending that a committee should be appointed to call a convention of the friends of the Society. This convention assembled on the 4th of May, and its proceedings, during the four days of its session, are before the country. Animated by the sentiments of the fathers of the Institution, the members of this body renewed their solemn engagements to the enterprise, avowed their full belief in the vast magnitude as well as utility of the object, that while private efforts to promote it should increase, it had a just claim for some measure of aid from the States, and from the Government of the Union. The memorial to Congress (one of the very last productions of the late learned and eloquent Francis S. Key, Esq., and which was the foundation of Mr. Kennedy's report) is one of the fruits of that convention. It remains to be seen whether the Society will avail themselves of their present advantages, and rest not until they are heard in Congress, and obtain that consideration and patronage so reasonably and justly anticipated by their ablest and earliest friends.

Our principal object now is, to invite special attention to the report of Mr. Kennedy, and to the accompanying documents. The appendix embraces the earliest publications of the American Colonization Society, an extensive correspondence of our Government with foreign powers on the subject of the slave-trade, the resolutions of nearly half the State legislatures of the Union in favor of the plan of the Society; the most recent and authentic testimony in reference to Liberia; ample extracts from the reports of the Society, and a great variety of information gathered from late valuable publications, both American and English, in relation to the population, commerce, superstitions and resources of Western Africa. Indeed there is hardly a topic of interest to the friends of African civilization and colonization which is not noticed and to some extent elucidated in this invaluable document.

The State of Virginia, some years ago, made an appropriation of about eighty thousand dollars to advance the cause. But certain provisions in the bill, threw such restrictions and embarrassment around this appropriation as to render it well nigh unavailable to the Society. Some of the distinguished citizens of that State, regard the faith of the General Assembly as still pledged to render this amount of aid, at least, to the enterprize, because they cannot imagine that the appropriation was made, except with a sincere purpose, that the benefits proposed by it, should be realized. We trust this interpretation of the intention of the Virginia Assembly is correct, and that the act of appropriation will be renewed without those restrictions that have prevented, hitherto, the expenditure of the fund.

There is now, if we are not misinformed, in the Treasury of the State of Georgia, several thousand dollars, derived from the sale, under her authorities, of certain unfortunate Africans, brought before the passage of the Act of Congress for their benefit, in contravention of our laws against the slave-trade, within the limits of that State, and we cannot doubt, that a motion, by one of the intelligent members of her Legislature, to give this fund to the cause of African Colonization, would receive the sanction of that body, and of the citizens generally, of that State.

At the conclusion of his report, Mr. Kennedy submitted the following resolutions :

“Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, That, the increasing importance of the colonies on the Western Coast of Africa, both in regard to the commerce of that coast and their influence in suppressing the slave-trade, renders it expedient that an agent should be appointed by the Government to protect and advance the interests of American trade in that region;—that he should be empowered to form treaties or conventions with the native tribes on the coast of Africa, for the advancement of American trade, and for the suppression of the traffic in slaves.

“And be it further resolved, That, the subject of settling the political relations, proper to be adopted and maintained between this Government and the colonies now established, or which may hereafter be established on the coast of Africa, by the citizens or public authorities of the United States, or of any of the States, be referred to the Secretary of State, with a direction that he report thereon to the next Congress.”

Amid the various theories adopted in regard to the constitutional powers of Congress, all admit, that the protection of commerce, the suppression of the slave-trade, and the support and defence of recaptured Africans, are objects embraced within those powers. Two of these objects, from the very origin of the constitution, and one for a period of more than twenty years, have been deemed proper subjects for national legislation. Dr. James Hall (better informed, probably, than any other American on the question) states, explicitly, that our commerce on the African coast has been exposed, for want of the protection of Government, to peculiar hazards and disadvantages, that the British trade enjoys much more ample and efficient protection, and is far more valuable than ours; that it is perfectly

practicable, and at small expense, by the continued presence of a squadron, and the support of a commercial agent empowered to negotiate treaties with the African tribes, to remedy the evil ; that a joint commission of Christian nations might, also, form treaties with the native African chiefs for the utter abandonment of the slave-trade on the windward coast ; that Liberia has effected much for the interests of American commerce and the extirpation of the slave-traffic ;—and that the former would be vastly more advanced by effectual negotiations for the extinction of the latter.

Immediate action is demanded. In the application of assistance to the cause, whether by Governments or individuals, there should be no delay. The ever-moving wing of Time flags not, and while we are pausing, we die. How many who, at the opening of the year, co-operated in this enterprise, are now cold and silent in the dark retirement of the tomb !

Could the writer speak and be heard, he would say to every one of his countrymen, the time has come for a united and mighty effort to bless our country and redeem Africa. If there were good reasons for giving existence to the Society, that an experiment might be made, there are reasons still stronger, when the wisdom and beneficence of this experiment are demonstrated, why we should give it support. If a few individuals much opposed, feebly sustained in a work exceedingly difficult, and irradiated but faintly by any lights of experience, have done so much, what may not this nation, incited by a spirit and resolution worthy of her Christian character, accomplish ? “The golden rule of Christ, is, (said Lord Bacon) ‘the perfection of the law of nature and nations.’” No soul of man, no civil power can escape from its authority.

To place our colored population, with their consent, in a position to build up a free and Christian State, is to summon them to a work, in its very nature of all others, most ennobling ; in the execution of which they secure the highest means of happiness and best prepare themselves to enjoy it. In founding such a commonwealth on the African coast, they plant themselves in a position least accessible to opposing and withering influences, eligible beyond others for independence and self-government, for sensibility to motives that best stir and strengthen our faculties, and of most commanding usefulness to their race. They become the Pilgrim Fathers to a land, rich in varied but undeveloped resources, where man roams untamed and unblest, which superstition darkens, cruelty tortures, and vice degrades. They bear with them the “Harp of Orpheus,” and the “Harp of David ;” the rugged aspect of nature grows smooth at their approach, and love softens her heart. The cannibal war-cry breaks no more the silence of the night ; songs of peace are echoed back from the lion’s den, the wilderness becomes as Eden, and the desert as the garden

of God. The incense of pure devotion greets the sun at his rising, and the fire burns unquenched beneath the evening star. The poor African is secure at his daily labor, he sleeps quietly in his rude dwelling, and is no longer afraid.

Assured then, that the plan of African Colonization, is entirely adapted to relieve one continent and regenerate another, to bless two races in this country, and one entire race in Africa, that its tendencies are for good in all directions, that its circuit of philanthropy, is necessarily limited only by the wants and miseries of the African people, we make our appeal to the reason of every well-regulated mind, and invite every man capable of reflection, to reach forth his hand, express his opinion, and sustain the cause.

We plead for it in the name of Justice. To Africa, as a nation, we owe a debt, which no scanty donations, no wavering, inconstant, and undecided efforts can ever pay. Lift up your eyes, look upon our cultivated fields, our waving harvests, and all the rich products of habitual and faithful toil, and feel the obligation.

And how can the friends of Christ, who desire all nations to look upon his cross, hesitate to promote with utmost energy this scheme, which from its necessary nature and operation, must train up and educate men in great numbers, on the African coast, to publish the doctrine of salvation. The imperfections of good men may occasion differences on some points between white missionaries established on the soil, or in the vicinity of our settlements, and the colonists; or men without just sentiments may cause them, but their existence is no valid reason for distrusting the mighty tendencies of such settlements to propagate our Holy Religion. They must have schools and seminaries. True religion will warm the souls of many of the people, young men dedicating themselves to the work of the ministry will go forth among the heathen; familiar with the languages and accustomed to the climate of Africa, they will be capable of exerting an extensive influence; their feet will indeed be beautiful upon the mountains and their word with power.

And is their compassion in our hearts? This is an attribute of God himself. It is the last resort of misery. It is like the dew upon the mountains of Zion, like the gentle rain upon the withered herb. Look then upon Africa—a continent stretched out like the dishonored and unburied dead of antiquity, the prey of wild beasts, and of more savage men. The wail of her misery is on every breeze, her wounds bleed, her children perish, her tears flow, her soul is dark, she sits in grief and the dust and there are few to comfort her.

COLONIZATION—MISSIONS.

EVERY believer in the great truths of the Christian religion must desire their universal publication. His heart will be set upon plans for illuminating the whole world with its holy and divine light. The more he loves the author of this religion, rejoices in its hopes, and imbibes its spirit, the more will he be interested in the cause of missions. We have ever regarded this cause, as involved in that of African Colonization. We could never doubt, that in establishing communities of free colored persons, many of them disciples of Christ, on the African coast, we were preparing mighty instrumentalities for the conversion of the people of Africa. In this work, we rely, not solely upon occasional and transitory efforts, not upon a few scattered missionaries, exposed to fall victims to disease, or to be destroyed by barbarians, but upon a permanent society, in the seminaries of which a host of native youth may be trained for missionary exertions, and go forth among the heathen commended by their own government, and to be succeeded by others, encouraged and protected by the same power. They will be inured to the climate, and acquainted with the manners, superstitions, and languages of Africa.

Is it not possible colonization may yet become, in many parts of the world, the great means of advancing Christianity, that missionary institutions may adopt it as auxiliary to their high design? On the subject of missions, the Rev. William Swan, (himself a very efficient missionary in Siberia) has written some admirable letters, and from one of them, we present the following extract, well deserving the consideration of the friends of the Redeemer.

“There are two general methods, which, if pursued to an adequate extent, promise with the blessing of God, to effect the consummation so devoutly to be wished, the universal spread of divine truth through the world. The one is the employment of numerous able missionaries, with a host of followers in their train, as catechists, artizans, printers, &c., to colonize heathen countries and introduce the Gospel with civilization as her handmaid.* According to this plan a very great number of missionaries of various descriptions, must be sent out, and vast resources will be required to support them. In some countries a colony of Christians might support itself in the course of a few years independently of foreign aid. But in most instances the missionary emigrants would require liberal encouragement and support from home, because in the selection of spots on which to form settlements they must be guided as much or more by a regard to their *usefulness* as their temporal advantage, *conveniency*, or *comfort*. They must inquire, not where they have the best prospect of succeeding as cultivators of the natural soil; but where they may be most useful in sowing the word of God, and causing the moral wilderness to flourish and bear fruit. It might seldom be possible

* If every schoolmaster and artizan and agriculturist is to be termed a missionary, I have no objection that the name be extended to them, and in that case I concede that attainments inferior to those I have represented as necessary to the character of a missionary using the word in a more restricted sense, may be sufficient. But I have employed the term missionary to denote the *principals* of a mission, and so understood, I humbly conceive the standard of qualifications has not been raised too high.

to combine these two objects, and therefore sufficient provision should be made against the probable wants of such settlers, that they might not be under the necessity of studying their own means of subsistence in the countries where they settle, rather than the means of rendering themselves effective promoters of the evangelization of the people.

“It would be a noble project if whole churches, pastors, and flocks were to emigrate to other lands, and become at once examples of the power of the Gospel and promulgators of its blessed truths to the heathen nations. Were fifty or a hundred British churches thus ‘to give themselves to the Lord,’ and establish themselves in well chosen spots in pagan countries, what might not be expected, with the blessing of God, from such a measure? Themselves strangers and pilgrims upon earth, true Christians would thus exhibit more of their own real character, and would enjoy, it might be confidently expected, in spiritual prosperity an ample compensation for some worldly disadvantages. Were the little leaven thus to mingle itself through the whole mass, how soon might not the whole lump be leavened! Surely there are many churches which as bodies have zeal and love and devotedness enough, if the scheme itself were at all practicable. And why is it not? The practicability of it will appear in different lights according to the state of mind in which it is contemplated. Perhaps if it had been proposed to the members of the church in Jerusalem to spread themselves through the surrounding region, testifying to all repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, there might have been many plausible objections started; but the providence of God soon made them glad to adopt the measure which before might seem impracticable. When obliged to flee for their lives, they found other places of abode, and scattered among unbelievers, had the finest opportunities of spreading the Gospel, and were no doubt enabled to say in reference to the persecutions that drove them from Jerusalem, ‘It is good for us that we have been afflicted.’ There may be no present appearances that threaten the British churches with a similar fate; they may not be driven into exile: but were persecution for conscience’ sake to arise, what would be thought of the *practicability* of colonizing heathen countries? And would not this plan afford the best conceivable means of cherishing and bringing into notice promising talents for the higher departments of missionary labor? Would not the younger members of churches be trained up and excited to regard the service of God among the heathen as a great and most important work; and seeing with their own eyes the fields white unto harvest, would they not *desire* to become laborers?

“I will not anticipate objections, but to prevent being misunderstood, I would only add, that it is not necessarily supposed according to this plan that every individual member of a church, without exception, should embark in such an emigration; some from age, state of health, &c. might be improper persons to join their brethren; but with all necessary deductions the great body of a church might, I am persuaded, with the prospect of doing incalculable good, thus go forth in the name of the Lord, devoted as one man to the promotion of his glory.

“Do not tell me that the example of the churches planted by the apostles, and the exhortations addressed to them to abide every man in his own calling, &c. make against the scheme now suggested. It is true the apostles do not enjoin upon the churches the duty of changing their abode in order to fix their residence among a heathen population. But why? *They were planted* in the midst of the heathen, they were themselves societies gathered from the Pagan and Jewish world, and were on every hand surrounded by those who still continued in the state of darkness from which they had been translated. There was in those days no such thing as a *Christendom*, a portion of the earth distinguished by the general profession of the religion of Christ. The whole

world was then, what many parts of it are still, inhabited by unbelievers, with here and there a church of Christ gathered out of the nations. The aim of this, or any other plan of missionary enterprise, is to bring the whole world under the denomination of Christendom.

“It has almost passed into a proverb, that with all the devotement of heart, and life, and substance which Christ requires of his disciples, every one is not obliged personally to engage in this work. Admitting the general truth, there is at the same time reason to fear that this convenient proverb is often carried too far, and may help to blind the eyes of some to their duty, suggesting a reason for declining obedience, which is sufficient or insufficient, according to circumstances. This is a serious subject, and requires the solemn consideration of every one who calls Jesus, Lord and Master.

“The other general method of conducting missionary operations is to send forth a body of missionaries who shall enter heathen countries, and bend their strength, not so much to the mere raising of congregations of Christians, and attaching them to the missionary settlement, as the Moravians do; but rather direct their resources with a view to the spread of Christianity through the length and breadth of the land, aiming by apparently slow but effectual measures to sap the foundations of the existing superstition, and introduce Christianity in its room, and contemplating the accomplishment of this chiefly by the agency of the natives themselves. With this view, opening seminaries for the instruction of the youth, training up promising young men to be teachers of their countrymen, making every suitable convert, an evangelist; at the same time preparing versions of the Scriptures in the vernacular languages, promoting the cause of general education, introducing useful knowledge, &c. The preaching of the Gospel directly to the natives, as far as practicable, is implied of course. What I mean as to the general plan is, that the missionaries do not *confine* themselves to the communication of oral instruction as their great and only branch of labor.

“These two methods have each their advantages and disadvantages. The first is the favorite of some friends of missions, while the second is extolled by others; but it appears to me, that either the one or the other should be preferred according to circumstances. In one country the former may be more effective, in another the latter. And in most places, perhaps, a system of operation combining both, that is, partaking of the first by adopting the plan of partial colonizing, and of the second by laying hold of all the advantages for carrying forward the work to be derived from the employment of natives as catechists, &c. The same mission in different stages of its history may also in part alter or modify the general plan of its procedure: for a mission, at first conducted wholly by foreign teachers, may, in the course of time, and after being blessed with a measure of success, in a great degree dispense with foreign aid, and proceed on the plan of employing natives, till at length, having a sufficiency of internal resources, it may be left wholly to itself.”

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF LIBERIA,
INCLUDING AN ABSTRACT OF LEGAL PRINCIPLES AND RULES, WITH AN APPENDIX
OF FORMS. PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. IN TWO
PARTS. MONROVIA, LIBERIA: HILARY TEAGE, PRINTER. 1843.

The appearance of this publication of some 120 pages, from the colonial press, is a gratifying evidence of the progress of Liberia in self-government, and the enactment of good laws. The acts of her legislature are judicious, suited to her condition, adapted to repress vice, to develop her faculties and resources, and by their humane spirit towards the native African tribes, to win them over to respect for civilization,

and the manners and habits of Christian society. We judge this compilation to be incomplete, and that some early laws never repealed, are omitted. It is valuable rather as showing that a just and liberal spirit animates the members of the legislative council, and that they understand the more important principles of legislation, than as being a sufficient code. Such a code will, we trust, at no distant day, be carefully prepared and adopted, comprehending whatever may be of value in a system of laws suited to a newly established community. We here invite the attention of our readers to a few of the laws of Liberia. We shall give other extracts hereafter.

“*SEC. 8. And be it further enacted.*—That in every instance where a colonist shall seize upon the property of the natives without legal process, under the pretence of the said native or natives being indebted to him, it shall be considered an act of ROBBERY, and shall be punished with all the penalties attached to that crime.”

AN ACT REGULATING COMMERCE AND REVENUE.

“*SEC. 7. Be it further enacted.*—That all vessels, boats and people engaged in, or in any wise aiding or abetting the slave-trade, are hereby forever forbidden to have any intercourse with our water, or our shores; and should they by distress be driven to anchor in our waters or land on our shores, the circumstances of their case are immediately to be reported to the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or some person appointed to hear and decide on the merits of the case, and any violation of this law shall subject them to seizure and imprisonment of themselves, and confiscation and sale of their effects, &c.

“*SEC. 8. Be it further enacted.*—That no citizen of this Commonwealth, or any foreigner within the jurisdiction of the same, shall be permitted to act as agent or attorney for any person or persons engaged in the slave-trade, under a penalty, of being six months bound to hard labor in irons. And further, that no person resident within the jurisdiction of this Commonwealth, shall enter into the employ or service of any slave-dealer, or of any person in the remotest degree connected with him or them, under the penalty of indictment, and fine of fifty dollars; and any person belonging to these colonies being found on board any slave-boat or vessel, or in the neighborhood of any slave-dealing establishment, shall be deemed accessory to their crime, and suffer the penalty as above; but should any person so implicated, show that he or she was by accident or distress thrown into that situation, being satisfied of such fact, His Excellency the Governor may admit the plea in pardon or extenuation; but should he or she fail to make good such representation, he or she shall suffer the penalty last above named.

“*SEC. 9. Be it further enacted.*—That all vessels hailing from ports, and sailing under the flag of this colony, are hereby prohibited from any and every species of intercourse with slavers at sea or elsewhere, and forbidden to trade or hold any negotiations with them, under the penalty of the seizure and condemnation of their vessels, and forfeiture of all the articles or the value of them so traded for, and no such vessel above mentioned, shall purchase *at sea* from any vessel any goods, wares, or merchandize, and land them at any port, or any factory they may be licensed to keep within this commonwealth, without accounting to the nearest port officer for the amount of duties chargeable on said purchase, and paying the legal tariff duties imposed on the articles, under the penalty hereinafter affixed to smuggling in these colonies.”

AN ACT RELATING TO TREATIES.

“*SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Governor and Council in Legislature Assembled, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same.*—That in all cases of treaties to be made, of which this Government shall be a party, the Governor may appoint commissioners, who may be clothed with the necessary power, and held bound to depart in no wise from their instructions. And all treaties, whereof the Commonwealth is one of the contracting parties, shall, from the date of their publication, become *laws*. And offenders against their provisions shall be punished in pursuance of judicial sentence.

“*SEC. 2. And be it further enacted.*—That in all treaties and negotiations with the surrounding head-men or chiefs of native tribes for land, the settling of questions of boundary, or for the extension of territory, a fair and complete understanding shall be had and obtained, and proper instruments of writing shall be had and made, fully expressing the whole subject-matter of agreement or arrangement, made and entered into—the full amount paid as the consideration of any bargain, or for any purchase made, together with the real signatures of all concerned in the transaction. And no

chiefs or head-men, the proprietors of any lands, shall by either force or fraud, be brought to accede to measures—nor shall any construction by implication be given to words, or actions be employed to deprive them of their right in any respect, and more especially with regard to lands, when they signify an unwillingness to deal in the way of pacific negotiation.”

AN ACT REGULATING THE RESIDENCE OF NATIVE AFRICANS WITHIN THE COLONY.

“SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Governor and Council in Legislature Assembled, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same*—That all native Africans who may become residents, or remain within the corporate bounds of the several counties of this Commonwealth—whether adults or minors, shall be compelled to wear clothes, under the penalty of being fined in a sum not exceeding five dollars, nor less than one dollar.

“SEC. 2. *Be it further enacted*—That no native youth under the age of eighteen years, shall be allowed to dwell in the families of colonists, without being bound for a specified term of years, according to the rules prescribed in an Act concerning apprentices.

“SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted*—That all male natives from the age of sixteen years to sixty, resident within the several townships, shall be compelled to work the same number of days directed by law for the citizens; they being ordered out at the discretion of the commissioners.

“SEC. 4. *Be it further enacted*—That liberated Africans incorporated in the colony, and who shall be deemed capable of managing, shall receive small grants of land.”

AN ACT CONSTITUTING AND REGULATING A POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

“SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Governor and Council in Legislature Assembled, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same*—That there be a Post Office Department for this Commonwealth; and that the Colonial Secretary be *ex-officio* Postmaster General.

“SEC. 2. *Be it further enacted*—That a Post Office be established in each of the towns of Monrovia, Marshall, Bassa Cove, Millsburgh, Caldwell and New-Georgia.

“SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted*—That there be appointed at each place a Postmaster, and that a carrier or carriers be employed to convey the mail, containing such letters, newspapers or pamphlets as may be forwarded therein. And that a fixed rate of postage be established, not exceeding twenty-five cents per hundred miles for each single letter, and a proportionate rate for nearer distances, to be collected by the said Postmasters; monies thus collected shall be applied towards the payment of the expenses of the Department, and the balance of expenses shall be paid out of any money in the Treasury, not otherwise appropriated.

“SEC. 4. *Be it further enacted*—That the several Postmasters shall make full and accurate returns on the first Tuesday in each month to the Postmaster General, of all letters received at and forwarded from their respective offices, and on the same day (if not otherwise directed) pay over to him all monies in their hands, so collected.

“SEC. 5. *Be it further enacted*—That the several Postmasters, excepting the Postmaster General, be allowed fifteen per cent. on all monies received by them for postage, as a full compensation for their services.

“SEC. 6. *Be it further enacted*—That from and after this date, it shall be the duty of the collector immediately on the arrival of a vessel, to demand all letters, letter packages and papers, which he or she may have brought and deposit them in the Post Office, and on each letter thus received, two cents shall be paid to the Captain of the vessel, to be collected from those receiving them. And that it shall not be lawful for carriers to receive letters to be carried outside of the mail, within four miles of any Post Office.

“SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*—That the Postmaster General shall have all letters hereafter received or sent by him free of postage—as well relating to his office of Colonial Secretary, as head of this Department.

“And that the Lieutenant Governor may receive and send all his official letters by mail, free of postage.”

AN ACT TO PROVIDE AND REGULATE COMMON SCHOOLS.

“SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Governor and Council in Legislature Assembled, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same*—That there shall be established in each settlement, and township in this Commonwealth, at least one common school, and that said schools shall be under the entire control of the several school committees, hereinafter ordained, to be elected—who shall make rules for the government of the same,—visit them at least twice in the year, and be authorized to employ an instructor for each school. *Provided always*, that no one teacher, shall receive for his or her services,

exceeding four hundred dollars per annum. And *provided further*, that each teacher shall, at the end of each school term, furnish the committee a report, shewing the state of his or her school, number of scholars and their ages, the time of entrance, and by whom entered, and such other matters as may be deemed important.

“*SEC. 2. Be it further enacted*—That all persons shall be bound by law, to send their children between the ages of five and twelve years, to school, under the penalty, *without excuse*, of paying, at the suit of the school committee, the sum of three dollars, for the benefit of the school.

“*SEC. 3. Be it further enacted*—That all monies arising from licenses and unappropriated military and court fines, shall constitute a general fund, to be called the school fund, of the counties of Montserrado and Grand Bassa. And that all monies thus arising, shall be divided among the several towns and villages, in a just ratio of their inhabitants.

“*SEC. 4. Be it further enacted*—That the several towns and villages, shall in their municipal capacity, elect annually, a school committee, of five persons, and also, be authorized to impose a tax on the male inhabitants over the age of twenty-one years, and all amounts thus or otherwise arising, shall be added to the dividend arising from the general fund, and applied to the sole use of schools.

“*SEC. 5. Be it further enacted*—That the school committee in the several towns and villages, shall be empowered to draw quarterly, their dividend from the general fund, and apply it with the monies raised by taxes, and the penalties imposed by the second section of this Act, to the erection, purchase, or hire of school houses—payment of teachers, and the purchase of such books as may be necessary for the use of the schools.

“*SEC. 6. And be it further enacted*—That the elections for the school committees, shall be called by the several town clerks, on the first Tuesday in February, annually. The polls to be managed as in other elections, and the same pay allowed the judges and clerks, which pay shall come out of the general fund.”

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE SUPPORT AND EMPLOYMENT OF THE POOR.

“*SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Governor and Council in Legislature Assembled, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same*—That the support and maintenance of aged widows, destitute orphans, poor persons and invalid poor, shall be borne by this Commonwealth, out of any money in the Treasury, not otherwise appropriated.

“*SEC. 2. Be it further enacted*—That manual and mechanic labor asylums shall be provided for such classes of individuals as are (whether colonist or native,) named in the first section, in each of the counties of the Commonwealth. And that a superintendent be appointed by the Governor and council, whose business it shall be to superintend and manage the operative concerns of the said institution.

“*SEC. 3. Be it further enacted*—That all male inmates of these asylums, not disabled from disease or otherwise, shall be employed in the cultivation of a farm, which will be connected with the establishment, and the profit arising therefrom, shall go to the use of the institution, and any surplus shall be paid into the Commonwealth Treasury. And any tracts of land not otherwise appropriated, may be used for the establishment.

“*SEC. 4. Be it further enacted*—That a number of *cards, wheels, looms, knitting and sewing needles*, shall be provided for the use of all females who reside in the asylum, so that they may be employed in carding, spinning, weaving, knitting and sewing. And to the end, that there be no idlers about the institution, the requisite quantum of wool, cotton, flax, hemp, and such other materials as may be manufactured into useful articles for the convenience of the country, shall be kept constantly on hand.

“*SEC. 5. Be it further enacted*—That there shall be a regular teacher employed to take charge of a school attached to the asylum, whose business shall be to instruct the youths belonging to the institution, in all the branches of a common English education.

“*SEC. 6. Be it further enacted*—That for the improvement of the youth of this institution, carpenters, rope-makers, blacksmiths, and such other mechanics as the improving state of the colony may demand, shall be employed in and about the establishment, for the purpose of instructing the youth in these several branches.

“*SEC. 7. Be it further enacted*—That the poor of this Commonwealth, shall not be allowed to wander about from one settlement to the other, but shall be taken by the officers appointed for that purpose, and placed under the care of the superintendent of the asylum.

“*SEC. 8. Be it further enacted*—That a board of twelve commissioners shall be appointed by the Governor and Council annually, seven for the county of Montserrado, and five for the county of Grand Bassa. This board shall regularly inspect these institutions, and make semi-annual reports to the Governor and council, of the condition

thereof,—the health of the inmates and their improvement in moral education, and the mechanic arts—whether they are properly fed and clothed—what the state of discipline—the receipts and expenditures of the asylum—and suggest any plan of improvement they may deem expedient. The board shall include also in their reports, the number of paupers—invalids—aged widows, and destitute orphans, in their respective counties.

“Sec. 9. *And be it further enacted*—That there shall be kept, a record of the names of the inmates of each asylum, by the superintendent—which record shall be handed to the commissioners, in time to be included in their reports to the Governor and Council.”

From the New-York Observer.

Appeal in behalf of African Colonization, by the Board of Managers of the New-York State Colonization Society.

The American Colonization Society is endeavoring to execute one of the grandest schemes of philanthropy that can be presented to the American people. The destinies of an entire race of men and of a whole continent are at stake. It is the cause of humanity—suffering humanity—pleading for the redemption of a much depressed and deeply injured portion of our fellow men, and their removal to that country, on that luxuriant soil, and in that genial climate, pointed to by the finger of Heaven as their rightful inheritance and their natural home. The little colony already planted on the barbarous shores of Africa has made the lights of Christianity to shine in a land shrouded in the darkness of barbarism, and has thus become an object of deepest interest to millions of our race in two hemispheres.

The scrutinizing eye of Europe, America and Africa is now fixed upon our feeble colonists and their young Government. The results of their experiment are anxiously looked for. Shall they be sustained? Shall they be encouraged? Shall they be cheered onward by our countenance and our support? These are questions which appeal to every patron of the Colonization Society. We would fain put them to every friend of the colored race.

Nearly every denomination of Christians in our land have adopted resolutions approving the scheme and commending it to the liberality of their numerous members. The Legislatures of twelve States of the Union have carefully examined its merits, and adopted resolutions in its favor, and commending it warmly to universal patronage. Auxiliary societies have been formed in nearly every State to aid in carrying it forward. The Board of Managers of the Society of the State of New-York are zealously enlisted in this cause, and are now making special efforts to raise funds. Though unforeseen circumstances have prevented their securing any considerable amount of money during the preceding part of this year, they have lately been so much impressed with the importance of purchasing several points of territory lying adjacent to our settlements, that they have resolved to raise immediately in this city, the sum of \$2,000, and have themselves subscribed \$600 toward the amount. They have requested their agent, Captain George Barker, who has been operating in the western part of the State, to aid them in making collections in this city. They have also applied for and secured for a short time, the services of the Rev. Samuel Cornelius, general agent of the State of Connecticut, who, in conjunction with Captain Barker and themselves, will commence to-day calling on our citizens to aid in accomplishing this noble undertaking. We cordially commend them and the cause to favorable consideration.

The parent society have just sent in the barque Latrobe, from Baltimore, upwards of \$2,000 worth of goods; and they wish in the course of fifteen days to send about \$4,000 more. The time for securing some of the most important points on the coast is rapidly passing by, and they fear that if there is any delay, it will be gone forever. If any one doubts the importance of securing for the young Liberian State, a continuous line of coast, let them imagine, if they can, some foreign power owning and occupying some of the most important harbors and tracts of land on our own extensive sea-board! Could any thing be more disastrous? Our colonists already feel this, and in view of the occupation of Garroway, lying between Cape Palmas and Monrovia, by the French, they are filled with fear and trembling, and our excellent Governor pleads like a patriot and a man, that we will speedily come to the rescue.

Dr. Hall, of Baltimore, who is so intimately acquainted with all African affairs, says that this occupation of Garroway by the French is the “most important event to our little colonies on that coast that has transpired since their foundation. It is not only important in itself, as placing a European Government in possession of another

prominent point on that coast, but when taken together with other transactions, as *indicating the policy hereafter to be pursued by all European Governments*. To us it is only a matter of astonishment that one and all, they have not long ere this, seized upon the whole of the unoccupied part of that coast, which could be secured for the cost of one ship of the line. We cannot but consider the possession of the intermediate territory between our American colonies, by the French or any European Government, as highly prejudicial to the cause of Colonization and the American colonies, as comparatively injurious to the natives, and as indicating a policy on the part of those governments which will shortly prove destructive to American commerce with the western part of that continent."

In view of these facts who does not see and feel that every hour's delay is fraught with peril? What the French have already done, is but a fair presage of what they are yet anxious to do, and will accomplish if they can. Governor Roberts says in his last despatch that they are prosecuting their endeavors at every point, where they can have the least hope of success. Can we, as American citizens, and friends of our humble and unprotected colonists, see all this and sit quietly down, complacent in what we have already done? Surely not. There is too much at stake. Every merchant and every manufacturer in our land has an interest involved in the comparatively unnoticed details of these transactions, which demands his immediate and earnest consideration. "It is well known that the internal resources of that vast continent are becoming most rapidly developed, that the legitimate trade is most rapidly on the increase, and that it promises to exceed that of any part of the uncivilized world. It is well known, too, that at least one half of the articles most in demand there, are of American production. It is also known that we are at present shut out, or that we shall be when it shall be deemed advantageous, from most of the important points for trade on that coast;—that we are not allowed to enter the French port of Senegal at all; that in the British ports of Gambia and Sierra Leone, we are not allowed to enter any article except of American production, or any that will compete with the same from England or her colonies. It is well known that in all English ports and settlements, almost innumerable on that coast, the ability exists to establish the same regulations as at the Gambia and Sierra Leone, and that such a course would most probably be followed by most European powers. And what would be the result? Why, from the multiplication of posts, as those of the French at Garroway and Senegal, American vessels would in a very short time be entirely excluded from the coast; and a commerce *now* worth a million annually, and yielding a greater profit than that of any other in the world, and which ought to increase more rapidly than any other, must be abandoned and surrendered to European competitors. Not only that, but with the present apathy on the part of our Government, and the jealous activity on the part of those of Europe, our *colonies* must be abandoned, and the very material best fitted for developing the resources of that vast and productive continent, the very medium through which could be prosecuted the most safe and advantageous commerce, placed there through American benevolence and American philanthropy, must be surrendered to them." Such a result who would not most devoutly deprecate?

These are some of the considerations which induce us to make the present call upon our citizens for aid. And we cannot believe that, enterprising, forethoughtful and philanthropic as they are, they will ever suffer us to call in vain.

In the present emergency, donations in provisions, groceries, dry goods, &c., will be thankfully received, and will essentially aid the society in accomplishing its important purposes. All such articles, and donations in money, may be sent to the Colonization Rooms, Dodge & Co., corner of Fulton and Cliff streets. And we earnestly request that all our friends will lend us a helping hand, and, without waiting to be called upon, will send in whatever they may be disposed to contribute.

New-York, 11th Nov., 1843.

ANSON G. PHELPS, *President*.

VALENTINE VANDEWATER, *Secretary*.

THE WESTERN AFRICAN MISSION.—On the 28th of July, at the Court of Common Council, in London, Alderman W. Hunter brought up a report, recommending the grant of £250 to the Rev. John Clarke, missionary, towards the purchase of a steam-vessel to be employed in connexion with the Western African Mission. Mr. Lawrence opposed the report, and moved "that it be laid upon the table," an amendment which was negatived by a majority of ten. He then moved an amendment that the sum of £100 be granted instead of £250. Upon the show of hands, the Lord Mayor declared that the affirmatives and negatives were equal, and being then called upon to vote, his lordship turned the scale in favor of the amendment.—*London Patriot*.

From the New Orleans Commercial Bulletin.

Fully impressed with the belief that the deportation of the African tribes from their native country to the islands and mainland of the Western hemisphere, and their consequent bondage to the whites, were permitted and sanctioned* of Providence for the benefit of both races, and particularly as a means of redeeming the negro from the barbarism and sloth which were and are, in a native state, his characteristics, and conferring on him and on his country, the blessings of civilization and industry, we read with much interest and usually with pleasure, whatever intelligence reaches us from the American-planted colonies on the coast of Africa.

The latest news received from those flourishing settlements, is contained in a despatch from Gov. ROBERTS, written at the Government House, in Monrovia, under date of July 1, to the Rev. Mr. GURLEY, and quoted in the *Boston Courier*, as follows:

"I find, sir, that the French are in earnest about acquiring territory on the coast, and their operations are no doubt hastened, to be in advance of the English, who, they say, are annoying their commerce, to gain a monopoly of the African trade, and will soon be making purchases of territory, so that they may more effectually carry out their designs.

"The French brig of war, 'Maloine,' passed here a few days ago, having on board some fifteen or twenty French marines, a number of Joloffs, (from near the French settlements in the Senegal) guns, ammunition and materials of every description, to erect a block house and other buildings at Jaraway, (Garroway) preparatory to commencing an establishment there.

"You will remember in my despatch of the 9th June, 1842, I mentioned that the French had contracted or purchased a small tract at this place, and that a considerably larger tract had been offered to the society. This may yet be obtained.

"We have now in press, compiled and arranged according to a resolution of the Council in 1842 and '43, the statute laws of the Commonwealth, including the manuscript laws sent out by the Board in 1840.

"The United States brig Porpoise arrived here day before yesterday, and sails to-day for Cape Palmas—all well, not a man on the sick list.

"Our prospects are every way brightening; agriculture and commerce are rapidly increasing, and we begin to think for certain, that some day we shall be a people.

I am, sir, most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. J. ROBERTS."

What citizen of the South, seeing and knowing the differences between his own race and that of his bondsman, and the utter impossibility that the two should dwell together in any other relation than that which is here maintained between them, and feeling, of course, the solicitude and affection for the negro, which the condition of patron or master ought always to inspire, but rejoices to know that the benefits of the subjection of the black to the white man are already manifesting themselves, and the seeds of happy communities, sown from our own plantations, springing up on the coast of savage Africa, to vindicate the wisdom and goodness which ordained that subjection? Who will not also join in the proud aspiration of the intelligent and good negro, Gov. ROBERTS, that the colony over which he presides, and the vast country destined through it to be regenerated, may, indeed, become "A PEOPLE"—a happy people, and prosperous—though humble and dependent, no doubt, they must always be.

The frequent good reports which we hear from these colonies, planted and nurtured by the most benevolent association, as we believe, of the age, ought to be a solemn warning to fanatics both at home and abroad, how they mar what they do not understand and cannot mend. Their violence, and the sanguinary measures by which they threaten to attain their ends, will not only destroy the whites whom they hate, but the blacks for whom they profess to pour out their sympathies; and, what ought to be a still more serious consideration with them, if their professions have a particle of truth, they greatly retard the return to Africa, under happy and auspicious circumstances, of her children. Let them beware how they interfere with this process of liberation and colonization, going on, under the blessings of Heaven, by those slow and safe steps which only are consistent with the magnitude of the revolution and of the beneficent results to be attained by it.

SOUTH CAROLINA NEGRO MISSIONS.

We make the following abstract of "a tabular statement of the commencement and progress of the missions of the South Carolina Conference," contained in a letter of

* We should not have used this word.—ED

Dr. Capers, on "Domestic Missions," and published in the S. Ch. Advocate. Let us premise that these missions "all lie out of the way of the circuits, where no Methodist would have access to the negroes on their circuit rounds;" and all, therefore, that is effected in their behalf in the way of religious instruction is the result of a special interest for them. We note this, as forming an exception to the remark, too generally true, that no man careth for their souls. The abstract will embrace a period of fourteen years and fourteen missions.

Church members during the year	1829	were	417	Children catechised,	no report	
"	"	"	"	1830	" 831	"
"	"	"	"	1831	" 972	" 250
"	"	"	"	1832	" 1395	" 490
"	"	"	"	1833	" 2128	" 1203
"	"	"	"	1834	" 2683	" 1203
"	"	"	"	1835	" 3861	" 1425
"	"	"	"	1836	" 4417	" 2609
"	"	"	"	1837	" 4772	" 2590
"	"	"	"	1838	" 5349	" 2590
"	"	"	"	1839	" 5612	" 3551
"	"	"	"	1840	" 6123	" 3579
"	"	"	"	1841	" 6300	" 3755
"	"	"	"	1842	" 6110	" 3552

The numbers, both of church members and children catechised, are less in the year 1842 than in the previous year. This was the result of the call of the church to retrench.

To show in what way these labors are regarded, we make two extracts, the first from the missionary report of 1833, only four years after the commencement of the missions, and the other from the report of the present year, that is 1843. From the report of 1833 we extract the following:—"Voluntary testimonials from gentlemen of highly respectable character and influence are before the Board. 'We feel no ordinary gratification in being able to testify, (says one of the communicants) each one of us for his servants, that the past year has presented, perhaps, unprecedented manifestations of God's goodness to his servants. The happy effects of the ministrations of the missionaries upon our servants, our eyes see; and our ears not unfrequently hear their expressions of gratitude for them.' Another communication from a most respectable source, informs us that 'since the preaching of the missionaries a marked change is observable in the negroes. The mask of hypocrisy is no longer used as a cloak for vice, the necessary discipline of the plantation is maintained through moral influence, and the amount of crime has been abundantly lessened.'"—*Report, February 1st, 1833.*

And from the Report of 1843, the following:—"And now the call for more laborers is waxing louder and louder. The fields are white to the harvest; and the only regret which the Board experiences, is, that the means within their control are not adequate to the entire work as spread out before them. For several years past the missionary treasury has been embarrassed with debt, and the Board have been under the necessity of curtailing, as far as possible, the expenses of our operations. We trust, however, that God is opening up the opportunities of more extensive usefulness before them, that the church will come up to their help, and furnish the facilities for the occupancy of every field."—*Report, February 13th, 1843.—From the Richmond Advocate.*

EDUCATION OF SLAVES.—The "The Protestant and Herald," of Kentucky, speaking of the letter published in our paper some time since respecting the conflagration of Mobile and the statements of a runaway slave, remarks:

"Some of the statements of this letter are of the most momentous interest to the white inhabitants of the slave States, and if duly weighed and considered, would lead them to the adoption of the only means, by which, under the blessing of God, slavery can continue, while, in his providence, it is permitted to continue, with safety to the whites, and ultimately terminate, *as terminate it must*, to the peace, advantage and happiness of both parties. The means we refer for "a consumation so devoutly to be wished," is the intellectual, moral and religious education of the slaves. The conservatory tendency of education among the blacks, is made manifest by the letter and confessions alluded to. If these statements be properly considered and improved by the slave-holding States, a lesson would be learned of infinite importance to their safety and welfare."

N. Y. Observer.

DEATH OF CAPTAIN HENRY PARSONS.

THIS venerable and ardent friend of Liberia, died suddenly, a few days ago, in the city of New York. Several times, he had visited Liberia, and for some years had been an active and faithful member of the Board of management of the New York Colonization Society. A plain, sensible, but resolute and philanthropic Christian, Capt. Parsons was ever ready for exertions in the cause of his fellow men, and to devote his time and money to their relief and improvement. His heart was full of sensibility and sympathy towards Africa. Every indication of her coming redemption was pleasant to him as the light. He rests from his labors, but his works of piety and benevolence will follow him. Africa will enroll his name among those of her best friends.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

WE invite public attention to the annual meeting of the Colonization Society, which is held annually in this city, on the third Tuesday of January (the 23d) when it is hoped the various State and other auxiliary societies will be represented by delegates. The board of Directors will assemble at the same time. We trust there will be a full attendance of the members and of all the friends of the Society.

CONTRIBUTIONS to, and receipts by, the American Colonization Society, from the 20th of October, to the 20th of November, 1843.

VERMONT.

By Rev. J. K. Davis, Agent:
Burlington, For the purchase of territory, J. Peck, Esq., R. G. Cole, Ex. Gov. Van Ness, Col. Wm. Hyde, each \$5, N. R. Vilns, \$3, W. Griswold, \$2, cash \$2, Mrs. E. Hickok, \$10, first payment on life membership, - - - - - 37 00 37 00

NEW YORK.

By Rev. J. K. Davis, Agent:
Newburg, John BevrIDGE, Esq., life member, \$30, For purchase territory in Africa. Rev. J. Forsyth \$5, cash, \$4, 59 00
Albany, Daniel Frey, on life membership, \$5, - - - - - 5 00 44 00

MASSACHUSETTS.

Newburyport, Ladies Colonization Society Pr. Miss Harriet Sanborne, 33 00 33 00

NEW JERSEY.

Pitts Grove, Annual collection in the Presbyterian Church, per Rev. J. W. Janvier, \$10, from the female association \$10, 20 00
 New Jersey State Colonization Society, per Matthias W. Day, 530 00 550 00

VIRGINIA.

By F. Knight Agent,
Lynchburg, F. S. Miller, \$5, John D. Murrell, \$10, R. H. K. Toler, \$4, S. McCorkle, \$10, Ambrose B. Rucker, \$5, cash \$2, J. M. Warwick, \$10, D. B. Payne, \$2, cash, \$2, cash, \$1, cash, \$1, cash, \$1, collection in Baptist Church, \$1 55, collection in Methodist Protestant Church, \$1 87, collection in Methodist Episcopal Church \$13 25, - - - - - 70 67
Richmond, James Dunlop, Esq., \$50, J. C. Crane, \$10, James E. Heath, Lewis Webb, James Caskie, Horace L. Kent, G. A. Myers, each, \$5, F. M. Lawson, \$4, W. H. Hubbard, \$3, Hancock Lee, \$6, J. H. Eustace, \$2, E. B. Bentley, \$10, D. Walker, \$5, Haxall, \$10, E. C. Pleasants, J. H. McRea, J. C. Spotts, J. D. Thornton, C. Stebbins each, \$1, R. Edmond, \$2, cash, cash, cash, each, \$2,

cash, cash, cash, cash, cash, cash, cash, cash, each, \$1, collection in Centenary Methodist Episcopal Church, \$16 24, collection in first Baptist Church, \$30,	191 24	
Orange Co., Collection in St. Thomas Church, per Rev. J. Earrest,	25 00	
Frederick's Parish, Clark co., Annual collection in Protestant Episcopal Church, by Rev. W. G. H. Jones, sent by Rev. J. F. Schmerhorn, \$40,	40 00	326 91

KENTUCKY.

Shelbyville, Annual collection in the Mulberry Church, Rev. J. D. Paxton, \$5,	5 00	
Danville, J. D. Smith, Esq., per J. A. Jacobs, \$10,	15 00	15 00
		<u>\$1005 91</u>

FOR REPOSITORY.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Bedford, Elder Samuel McQuistin, 1 Jan. to May, '45, \$2	2 00	
NEW YORK.—By Capt. Geo. Barker, Agent, Mt. Morris, Abner Dean, to Jan. 1, '44, \$8, D. A. Miller to '44, \$8, Moscow, T. W. Cuyler, to '44, \$4, Leroy, T. Lathrop, to '44, \$6, Clarkson, W. Groves, to '44, \$8, Rochester, C. W. Dundas, in full, \$5, A. Sampson, in full, \$7 50, W. Hubbell, to '44, \$6, Gen. J. G. Swift, to Jan. 1, '44, \$8, and for four copies to the 1st Jan. '45, \$7 50, R. Payton, to '44, \$4, Seneca Falls, W. H. King, \$3, Groton, R. C. Reynold's, to '45, \$5, Batavia, D. E. Evands, to 1 July '44, \$6,	86 00	
New York, John H. Eaton, Agent, \$90, Martinsburg, D. D. Dewey, for '42, and '43, \$3,	93 00	179 00
VIRGINIA.—By F. Knight, Agent, Richmond, Hancock Lee, to Jan. '44, \$4, G. A. Myers, to Jan. '44, \$4, J. W. Pegram, to Jan. '44, \$8, Lynchburg, Capt. T. A. Holcomb, to Jan. '46, \$7 50,	23 50	
OHIO.—Kelloggsville, Thomas Ticknor, for '43, \$2, by C. H. James, Wilmington, Dr. J. H. Sparks, to 1 Jan. '43, \$6, Lancaster, Thomas Ewing, to 1 Jan. '43, \$2,	10 00	
SOUTH CAROLINA.—E. L. Kimson, to Dec. '44, \$1 50,	1 50	
Total Repository,		<u>216 00</u>
Total,		<u>\$1221 91</u>

Note.—In the Contributions acknowledged in August Number, Dr. John Cooper should have been stated as resident in Easton, Pa. instead of in Trenton, New Jersey.

RECEIPTS of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, from the date of the last Annual Report, May 31, to October 31, 1843.

South Weymouth, J. H. T. Blanchard,	4 00	
Easton, Collection in Cong. Society,	4 00	
Braintree, Collection in Cong. Society,	2 00	
Andover, Chapel Congregation,	32 50	
Portsmouth, (N. H.) Ladies of North Church,	8 25	
Randolph, (Vt.) Previously collected by Rev. Dr. Tenney,	30 00	
Pittsfield, By Dr. Tenney,	1 00	
Danvers, Donation,	50	
Bath, (Me.) Rev. J. W. Ellingwood,	5 00	
Boston, Rev. A. Bullard, \$5, James Hayward, Esq., \$30, William Roper, Esq., \$15,	50 00	
Transmitted at sundry times to the Parent Society and acknowledged in former numbers of the Repository,	853 00	
Total,		<u>\$990 72</u>

Receipts of Pennsylvania Society from August 20th, to 1st October, 1843, as acknowledged in the Colonization Herald of 18th October, \$1075, 77.



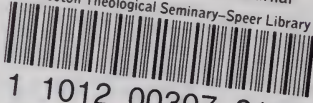


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